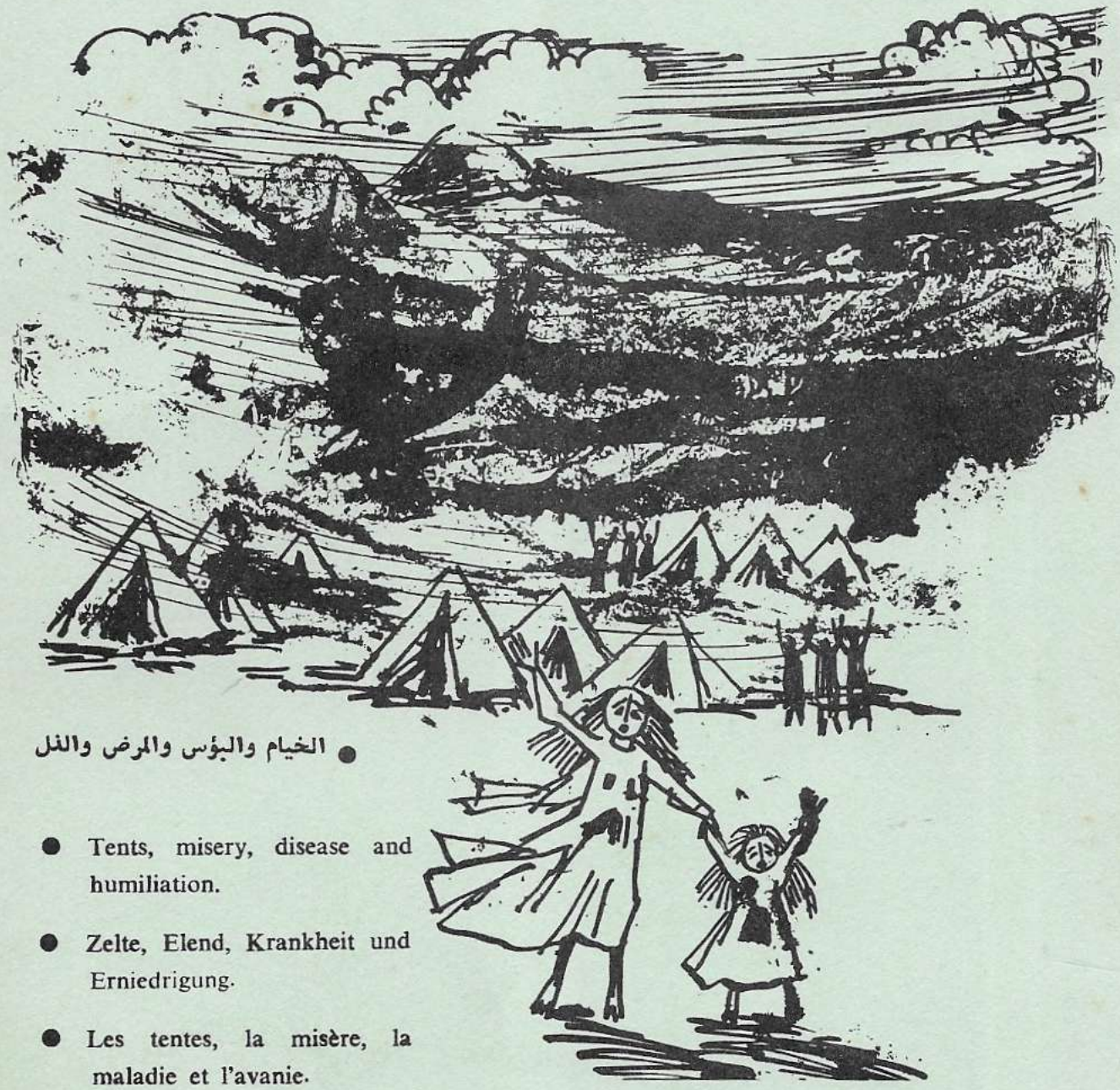
THE LOST SIGNIFICANCE OF SIRHAN'S CASE



● الخيام والبؤس والمرض والذل

- Tents, misery, disease and humiliation.
- Zelte, Elend, Krankheit und Erniedrigung.
- Les tentes, la misère, la maladie et l'avanie.

"The official transcript of Sirhan's testimony on the Palestine problem with a forward written by a member of the Defense Team."

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FOREWORD

The *New York Times* of February 22, 1969, in an editorial entitled THE PALESTINIAN DIASPORA stated, in a moment of profound clarity, and, in a sense, reflecting the nagging reality that Israel will have no peace until the Palestinian people are allowed to return to their homes:

> "No amount of condemnation will stop the terrorists . . . the situation has been immensely complicated by the necessity for recognizing that the Palestinians can no longer be regarded as mere tools of the leaders or Arab states. Arab leaders have now become captives of the Palestinian zealotry they once encouraged for their own ends. The Palestinians have emerged as a force in their own right. As Prof. Malcolm H. Kerr of the University of California has observed, "We are witnessing a kind of 'zionist' movement in reverse, on behalf of a Palestinian Arab diaspora, insisting on its right to return to its homeland."
>
> "No reasonable person can deny that Palestinians have endured grievous wrongs, least of all the Israelis, who have suffered similar frustrations and who in the past have reacted in not dissimilar ways recall the deeds of the Stern Gang and Irgun Nai Leumi."

The comparison by the *New York Times* of the resistance activity of a people who have been physically evicted from their homes and whose land has been colonized by a European race-supremicist settler movement, on the one hand, with the Zionist Stern Gang and Irgun, on the other, should not surprise or disturb the thinking reader of the *New York Times*. Nor should the fact that the *New York Times* advises its readers in Washington and New York that the only way to deal with such bothersome Palestinian "terrorists" is to "isolate them and remove their sources of power by engaging more moderate leaders of the Palestinian diaspora." That the power of Palestinian resistance springs from the people, the *New York Times* has apparently not discovered although it has discovered that the "Palestinians have endured grievous wrongs." Indeed, the

most salient aspect about the editorial is its recognition that, after twenty years of exile, poverty and desperation, the Palestinian people have "endured grievous wrongs" and the Palestinian resistance has indeed been effective in calling the attention of the gentlemen sitting in the editorial offices of the *New York Times* to the fact that there is a Palestinian people who once inhabited a region called Palestine.

Sirhan Bishara Sirhan was only four years old when he and his family crawled out under the barbed wire strung down St. Paul's Street in the New City of Jerusalem. Zionist terrorism against the indigenous Palestinian populace and the British occupying forces had reached such proportions that the Sirhan family, like many of their neighbors, friends, and countrymen, where no longer safe. The Sirhans had been living comfortably in a five room apartment on St. Paul's Street. The father, Bishara Sirhan, was employed in the Water Supply Department of the English Mandatory Government. While the Zionists had smuggled arms into Palestine for some time and had well-trained paramilitary forces, the Palestinians were completely without means to defend themselves from Zionist terrorism or resist the Zionist program of establishing a Zionist Jewish State in Palestine.

The Sirhan family, like hundreds of thousands of other Palestinians, was forced out of its home, its land, its means of livelihood, with only the clothes they wore on their backs, perhaps a few pieces of bread in their pockets. They fled to an old orthodox convent in the Old City where they remained for nineteen days, sleeping on the cold stone floors of the convent with the hundreds of other refugees that it housed. Locating a small windowless room in a centuries-old and dilapidated building actuated in the ex-Jewish Quarter of the Old City. Bishara and Mary Sirhan took their family there where they were to remain until they had left for the United States some eight years later. Death, disease and hunger plagued the neighborhood and the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who crowded into the Old City and the camps on the West Bank of the Jordan River. Behind them, securely occupied by the Zionist flood-tide from Europe, the Palestinians left well-tended citrus groves, olive groves, gardens, villages, homes, farms and personal possessions. Now, they had nothing, no homes, no citrus groves, no possessions, insufficient food, water, medicine, and clothing.

Sirhan Bishara Sirhan was too young when he and his family were driven out of the New City into the Old to understand

what was happening but he witnessed many terrorist acts and bloodshed that had a traumatic effect on him and on his development. Early in 1947, while Sirhan and his father were walking toward the Post Office in the Old City, the Zionists rolled a barrel of dynamite from the back of a truck near the Damascus gate, killing and wounding many people. Sirhan saw the streets filled with blood and pieces of flesh. Also, early in 1947, Sirhan's older brother, Munier, was killed in front of the Sirhan home by a passing truck. Near the end of 1947, Sirhan saw the leg of a British soldier, who had been blown up by the Zionists near the Sirhan home, swing from a church steeple. In April of 1948, Sirhan was with his mother when a truck passed by carrying young Arab girls from the village of Deir Yassin where the Zionist Irgun gang has massacred some 250 villagers in cold blood. The Zionists were shouting "this is what will happen to you!" These were but a few of the atrocities witnessed by Sirhan. Each time he would shake and become pale, frightened and nervous. Moreover, as Sirhan grew up he came to learn many things about what had happened to him, his family, his relatives, his neighbors, and his countrymen. This sensitive and impressionable youth was to grow up in exile as a member of the Palestinian diaspora.

The evil that man does to his fellow men reaches down to us in our time and we have not yet heard the last tragic echo of what happened to the Palestinian people in 1948. On June 4, 1968, Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, a 24 year old Palestinian refugee who immigrated to the U.S. with his family in 1957, shot and killed Robert Kennedy. He was reported to have said in the police car on the way to the Ramparts station, "I did it for my country."

The case and Sirhan's motives remained shrouded in a great deal of mystery until the point in time when the defense started examining its witnesses. At that time it became clear that the tragedy of Robert Kennedy was preceded by the tragedy of Sirhan Bishara Sirhan. The trauma experienced by Sirhan throughout the course of his life made him identify Robert F. Kennedy with a moral contradiction of such enormous proportions that it made Sirhan burn with anger, a rage, a sense of deep personal desperation. Sirhan and two million other Palestinians were asked by the West to acquiesce in their own physical eviction and political extermination to pay for crimes committed in the West, by the West, against Western Jews.

Anyone who knew Sirhan was aware that this was a sensitive young man whose sense of injustice perhaps went beyond that of most men. As a child, Sirhan would become angry at his childhood friends who would lie to him or ask him to steal. As a young adult, Sirhan was always careful to maintain honest dealings with those with whom he dealt. Those who knew him, knew him to be a kind and gentle person.

But somehow many of these facts were obfuscated in the public mind by the burden of psychiatric testimony. Those few days of testimony in which the family told their story somehow became lost in the deluge of other testimony about the defendant.

Probably no more dramatic moment occurred during the course of the trial than when Sirhan responded to Defense Counsel Grant Cooper's question, "Now tell me, what have you read about the Palestine problem?" Sirhan, according to one news report, "astonished spectators at his murder trial with an impassioned — and accurate — discourse on the growth of Zionism, Palestinian history and England's behind-the-scenes agreement on Palestine's future." And yet, with but a few exceptions, what the *Los Angeles Times* saw fit to headline in its March 5, 1969 *Preview Edition* as SIRHAN'S STORY, little of his testimony reached the American people. *The New York Times* chose to dismiss it as Sirhan's "version of the Arab-Israeli conflict" and the *Washington Post* made passing reference. The primary reason that this testimony was not reported was probably the emotional bias of the correspondents. Certainly the reporters of the *Associated Press* and *Newsweek* should have declined the assignment if any emotional bias on their part would ultimately lead to the unconscious — or conscious — suppression of some of the testimony in the trial. The AP sloughed off Sirhan's accurate detailing of what he had come to learn about the Palestine problem as being "a forum for invective against Jews." Dave Smith, with no emotional bias, reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, however that:

"Sirhan's hatred of Zionists — which he took pains to differentiate from non-Zionist Jews — cropped up over and over as he testified that 'prior to 1948, before the Zionists,' the Jews and Arabs of Palestine 'were living very amicably, in great harmony."

Printed in the following pages is the verbatim testimony of Sirhan Bishara Sirhan on the Palestine problem. Had this testimony received the media coverage that other matters receive, perhaps there would not be a necessity for presenting

this pamphlet. Zionism and its supporters and benefactors have effectively withheld the very personal tragedy of the Palestinian people, and Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, from people of compassion and goodwill.

Nor has the last reverberation of the tragedy of Sirhan and his people been heard. The desperation of a whole people will continue to ring in the ears of the world.

Abdeen M. Jabara
Detroit, Michigan
April, 1969

Q. All right. Now, let me take you back again now to the political matters that you have read about. I take it that from what you have told us you read everything about the Arab-Israeli situation that you could lay your hands on?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever read any books about it?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. Do you remember any of the books you have read on the Arab-Israeli situation?

A. I have read many of the pamphlets that are put out by the Arab Information Center in the United States here. I have read many of their magazines, their newsletters, their special editions of whatever — anything that they put out, sir, and I could get my hands on it, I read it.

Q. Now, let me ask you this — there came a time when obviously your mind crystallized, first, as to who was right and who was wrong?

A. Yes, sir, it did.

Q. Did it ever change?

A. No, sir, it never did.

Q. Became strengthened, would you say?

A. Very much so, sir.

Q. Now, whom did you feel was right?

A. I felt that the Palestinian Arabs were right.

Q. Now, will you explain, please, in your own words what your state of mind was with respect to the Arab-Israeli situation, why you felt they were right? The things that went to make up your mind?

A. Well, sir, when you move — when you move a whole country, sir, a whole people, bodily from their own homes, from their own land, from their businesses, sir, outside their country, and introduce an alien people, sir, into Palestine — the Jews and the Zionists — that is completely wrong, sir, and

it is unjust and the Palestinian Arabs didn't do a thing, sir, to justify the way they were treated by the West.

Q. Let me ask you this. As a result of your reading, were you aware of whether the Arabs and the Israelis were able to live side by side in peace?

A. Sir, the Arabs and Jews — let me say this, qualify it — that the Jews, sir, prior to 1948 and prior to the interests of the Zionists in Palestine were living, sir, very amicably, in great harmony, sir. There was no conflict as such, sir, before the Zionists began showing interest in Palestine.

Q. Were there some other thoughts that occurred to you that went to make up your state of mind, Sirhan, with respect to that situation?

A. Yes, sir, it did. In 1967, during the Arab-Israeli war in June of that year, the way the Zionists in this country, sir, brain-washed the American public that Nasser is trying to push them into the sea and that the Arabs are going to just wipe them out completely, sir; and then just turning around and doing the very opposite, sir, to the Arabs — it was completely unfair. It was all a misconception, really.

Q. Let me ask you this. You read in your books, periodicals and everything, about the strength of the Arab bloc — if I may put it that way.

A. Yes, sir. No, sir, I shouldn't say you should use "the Arab bloc" even. I am fighting you, Mr. Cooper. It was the Palestinian, the Arab people of Palestine, versus the Israelis; not the Arab bloc. Nassar has nothing to do, sir, with the struggle with the Palestinian people.

Q. Did you come to the conclusion at least that the Palestinians plus the Arabs were stronger than the Zionists, prior to the 6-day war?

A. I didn't so much think they were stronger, sir. I thought that they were in a greater position, sir, and a more advantageous position, sir, to force Israel to accept, to help the refugees, sir, to return to their homes, their property and their land.

Q. You felt that was what —

A. Yes, sir, that was the main — yes, sir, that it what all the struggle is about, to regain whatever was stolen from them.

Q. Regain your home and the homes of others —

A. Yes, and our country and nationality.

Q. Now, did you also have a point of view with respect to the amount of money that is going over there?

A. Yes, sir, I did. I had occasion to read a book written by obviously some Zionist organization in the U.S. about the

6-day war with a picture of Moshe Dayan on it. I read that in a book store in Pasadena. "The Bungalow News" was the name of it.

Q. What was the name?

A. "The Bungalow News" in Pasadena, wherein, sir, they describe how the Zionists in America, sir, were very instrumental in pressuring the United States, sir, in having a favorable foreign policy towards Israel.

Q. How did this affect you?

A. It affected me, sir, very deeply. I didn't like it. Where is the justice involved, sir? Where is the love, sir, for fighting for the underdog? Israel is no underdog in the Middle East, sir. It's those refugees that are underdogs. And because they have no way of fighting back, sir, the Jews, sir, the Zionists, just keep beating away at them. That burned the hell out of me.

Q. Now, when you saw this picture of Moshe Dayan on the cover of some magazine, what magazine was it, do you remember?

A. The picture that I saw on the magazine, sir, was of the Israeli soldiers, sir, on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal.

Q. How did that affect you?

A. It burned me up.

Q. Well, how?

A. They were victorious, sir. They were the winners. They just blasted the hell out of the Arabs and they are out of the Suez Canal. They can tell Nasser what to do now.

Q. What were your feelings at the time, sir?

A. At the time, sir, if I had seen those guys in person, I would have blasted them. I would have killed them, period.

Q. That was your feeling at that time?

A. Yes, sir, it was.

Q. With respect to the monies that were being sent over there?

A. That burned me again. In this book they said that the Zionists and the Jews in America, sir, had collected some $370,000,000 after the war and gave it to Israel so that Israel could revitalize her economy, to subsidize all the military operations which she undertook, sir, against the Arabs. And that burned the hell out of me again, sir.

Q. Why?

A. When President Johnson at the time, sir, was trying to bring back all these military troops from Germany and Europe so that we can keep the dollar at home; when he was limiting the amount of money that the tourists, American tourists

abroad can spend to $7.00 so that we can keep the money at home, sir, these God-damned Zionists —

Q. Pardon me, Sirhan —

A. Excuse me. That's me, sir.

They pick up $370,000,000 cold cash, tax-deductible, out of the back door of the United States to give to Israel. What gives? We were having these riots in Newark, New Jersey. Why? They were all basically economically motivated, the riots, and here they take the money by the truck load, sir, for another government and another country — what gives?

Q. Did that upset you?

A. Sure it did. I was unemployed. I didn't have a damn job, sir. I was looking for work. And here's the money getting out of the country. Why?

Q. Let me ask you this. Do you remember a period of time; do you remember a period of time when John Kennedy was President of the United States before his assassination?

A. Yes, I do, sir.

Q. What were your feelings toward John Kennedy?

A. I loved him, sir.

Q. Why did you love him?

A. I loved him more than any American would have.

Q. Why did you love him?

A. Because just a few weeks before his assassination he was working, sir, with the leaders of the Arab Government, the Arab countries, to bring a solution, sir, to the Palestine refugee problem, and he promised these Arab leaders that he would do his utmost and his best to force or to put some pressure on Israel, sir, to comply with the 1948 United Nations Resolution, sir; to either repatriate those Arab refugees or give them back, give them the right to return to their homes. And when he was killed, sir, that never happened.

Q. Now tell me, what have you read about the origin of the Palestine problem?

A. This all starts, sir, with when the Europeans, Zionists, Theodore Herzl, the head of the World Zionist Movement, sir, in 1897, had a conference or a congress in Switzerland where they said that the Jews all around the world, sir, cannot be saved because of the anti-Semitic feelings that the Western cultures, that the gentiles had against them; and that the Jews cannot really be saved living in the West as minority people and being hated by the gentiles, and that the only way that the Jews could live and live safely and develop themselves would be if they had a country of their own. And that is when

they decided to develop or annex or take or acquire a country of their own; and that is when they decided on Palestine. They planned to use — they had two goals as a means of achieving that program.

First they sought to buy land in Palestine; secondly, they sought the aid of the Western, the great powers of the time; they solicited the aid of the Western powers, the great powers at the time, to pressure, to help them acquire Palestine.

And they did that, sir, by pressuring the Jews who were the citizens of these respective countries, who were the great powers at the time — England, France, the United States.

Theodore Herzl — he was one of the founders of this Zionist Movement. And he died in 1904, so another man of that same Zionist organization, sir, whose name is Weizman, took over and he sought the British support in getting Palestine as a Jewish national home, as a Jewish State; and he used as a means of doing that, sir, to pressure at the time to — at the time he wanted to — I'm too nervous.

MR. COOPER: Take your time.

Q. Does this discussion about this upset you, do you want some more water?

A. Please.

(The bailiff then brought the defendant a glass of water.)

Q. Sirhan, can you continue on your background as you saw it in your readings and experiences?

A. Well, anyway, sir, the Balfour Declaration, this was an agreement, sir, that England had concluded with the Zionists that, if the Zionists would try to pressure the American Jews, to persuade the United States to enter the war and the support of England as a member of the allies that England in turn would provide for a National Jewish home in Palestine.

Now, before this, sir, England had concluded another deal with the Arabs, sir, by which it was agreed that if the Arabs would help England against the Turks and the Germans in the Middle East that they would be granted independence in Palestine and again England had an agreement with the French, the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

MR. COOPER: Can you spell that?

THE WITNESS: S-y-k-e-s; P-i-c-o-t, where England, and that was a secret agreement, sir, where England and France would split up the area of the Middle East and the land of the Middle East would continue, according to, you know, it would split between them and they made the deal that the power of Palestine would go to England and Lebanon and Syria and

some other countries, and, well after the war, England, well, England had this commitment to the Arabs of granting them independence but she had to make good her agreement with the Zionists, that they would provide for a new Jewish home, according to the Balfour Declaration.

The population of Palestine was 700,000 people, 700,000 Palestinians and five hundred and seventy thousand were Arab Palestinians and there were some 70,000 which were Christians, of whom I am one or my father's were, and some 56,000 were Jews, Jews not Zionists.

This was in 1917 and the Zionists, having the protection and support of the Balfour Declaration, sir, has started this immigration or importing European Jews into Palestine.

This all kept going through the period that Palestine was under British Mandate, was under British rule.

Now, the Zionists had increased their population 56,000 in 1917 to about 650,000 in 1948 and the Arab population meantime had increased to one point three million and through this time the Arabs were becoming more aware of the plans of the Zionists to take over their country.

When the Zionists came in there, sir, they would team together, they would try to have their own schools, their own businesses, their own everything and they would just leave the Arabs apart.

They were trying to develop everything as Zionists and the Arabs saw what was really happening, and that the Palestinian Arabs would be turned over to the Jews and, once taken over, run by the Jews and Zionists.

This brought along, sir, great hostility between the Zionists and the Palestinians and at this time the Arabs throughout the whole world, but now, sir, at the time that they did this, they lacked the approval of whatever they needed on the part of the Westerns, that is what I would call it and in 1948, sir, when the Zionists felt they were strong enough to proclaim their own state of the military and morale and the political support of the Western powers they sought to establish their own independent state.

Q. Now, as you look back on it, Sirhan, you know historically from your being there that you were removed from your home when you were four years of age and that is a part of what you are now discussing?

A. Yes, sir. That is what brought about, sir, my final refuge from where we were in the New City to the Old City.

Q. You believe that as far as the Zionists were concerned they had no right to do that?

A. They had no right to do that, no, sir. They still didn't have any right to do what they did to the Arab refugees since 1967.

Q. What was the impact of this Palestinian problem on your life and your thinking and your being?

A. Through my life in this country and back there I always felt that I had no country, that I had no place that I could call really my own and I was just sick and tired of being a foreigner. It is as simple as that.

I wanted a place of my own where the people would speak my own language, where they would eat my own food, where I could share my own politics, something that I could identify as Arab, a Palestinian-Arab, and have my own country, my own city, my own land, my own business and my own everything, sir.

Q. Now, Sirhan, you had some notebooks —

This would be a good time, your Honor please, a good breaking point.

THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, you are again admonished that you have a duty not to converse among yourselves or with anyone else on this matter or anything pertaining to it; you are not to form or express an opinion on this matter until it is finally submitted to you for that purpose.

We will now recess until 1:45.

Defendant is remanded.

(Whereupon an adjournment was taken until 1:45 p.m. of the same day, Tuesday, March 4, 1969.)

Now, let me ask you this.

On People's Exhibit 71-39 there are words in there "Ambassador Goldberg must be illiminated, Ambassador Goldberg must die." Do you recall at one time being angry at Ambassador Goldberg?

A. Yes, I was angry at Goldberg.

Q. Did you watch on television at some time the meeting of the United Nations?

A. Yes, I watched all of them.

Q. And did you observe a proceeding where Ambassador Goldberg was the Ambassador from the United States to the United Nations?

A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. Were these some of the debates during or after the Arab-Israeli conflict?

A. Yes.

Q. In 19 - -
A. 1967.
Q. 1967, and that was the six-day war?
A. Yes.
Q. Now, do you remember, what was it that you say bugged you?
A. Again, sir, when President Johnson said that the United States supported, and this is his quotation —
Q. Yes.
A. —"the United States supported territorial limits of all nations" and he referred to Ambassador Goldberg at the time as his Ambassador to the United Nations and when he said these words, I remember, sir, hearing this, vividly, and to me, sir, this was only in the respect, sir, that he was on the side of Israel.
Q. What did Ambassador Goldberg ever do or anything that you ever heard him say that bugged you?
A. I didn't like what he said at the United Nations, sir, and what President Johnson said that the United States supported the territorial limits of all nations. He said "all nations," and he said that all along. And he said that still, sir, a year later.
Q. Did you think he should die?
A. Why not, sir. I did not like his words.
Q. Well, did you have in mind at the time you wrote that of killing Ambassador Goldberg?
A. Well, I remember when I saw that on television, when I was watching it, I got very emotional.
Q. Do you remember writing that?
A. I don't exactly remember the writing, sir, but I remember the emotion that I had at the time.
Q. All right. When you say "at the time," if you don't remember writing it, how do you remember having that emotion at the time?
A. Because of Goldberg.

*BY MR. COOPER: Now, I show you Page 18 of Part 1 of that June 4th edition, and ask you if you see on that page the ad that you had seen?
A. Yes, sir, I do.
Q. Now, will you read that for us, please, that ad?
A. "Join in the" and then in smaller letters, "Miracle March, for Israel"—in very bold type, "On Miracle Mile tomorrow" in the same size type, "Wednesday, June 5, 6:30 p.m., Wilshire Boulevard and Detroit Street. Parade moves west to" and this is in bold type "on the steps of the L.A. County Art Museum. Sheldon L. Pollack, Chairman."

MR. COOPER: I offer these pages from People's Exhibit 41 heretofore marked for identification in evidence.
THE COURT: N.
MR. COOPER: With the Court's permission, may I pass this to the jury?
THE CLERK: N?
MR. COOPER: May it still be marked 41 or marked as Defendant's N?
THE COURT: Defendant's N, in evidence.
Any objection?
Q. BY MR. COOPER: Now, when you saw that article, what was your reaction to it?
A. That brought me back to the six days in June of the previous year.
Q. You are talking about the six-day war?
A. Yes, sir. And like I told you when you were upstairs, Mr. Cooper.
Q. You mean in the jail?
A. Yes. And had I been dead during those days, the six days in June of 1967, sir, it would have been better for me because I was completely, and forgive me for saying this, Judge, I was completely pissed off at American justice at the time.
Q. When you read this on the night of the 4th of June, what was your reaction to it then?
A. I had the same emotion, the same feeling, the fire started burning inside of me, sir.
Q. Now, as a result of your reading and what people told you—
A. And my experiences—
Q. And your experiences, you developed quite an interest in the subject of the whole problem of the Middle East?
A. Yes, sir, I did. Naturally, I would have. I am an Arab just as they are.
Q. You have a great interest in trying to solve that problem?
A. Yes, sir, I did, very much so.
Q. You still do?
A. I do.
Q. You would like to do something about it?
A. Surely.
Q. And as a matter of fact, you wanted to be a diplomat?
A. Yes, sir, I did, very much.
Q. As I understand it, the reason that you wanted to be a diplomat is that you were quite impressed by this teacher you had in the Old City, right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who taught you that the way to solve these things was really through peaceful means, right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you still believe that?

A. Yes, sir, very much so.

Q. But as of the moment that you sit here right now—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have a very intense hatred for the Zionists?

A. Yes, sir, I do.

Q. And I assume that that hatred would apply to anybody who appeared to be aiding the cause of the Zionists?

A. Yes, sir. I hold to the Arab proverb to some extent, that "The friend of my enemy is my enemy," yes.

THE COURT: He said the old Arab proverb: "The friend of my enemy is my enemy."

MR. BERMAN: Could we ask him to speak up a little?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir, I will.

Q. BY MR. COMPTON: When did you develop that hatred of the United States as a country?

A. I never did have any hatred, as such, for the United States. I am most grateful, sir, to the United States for having lived here the second half of my life.

Although, sir, from 1967, from June of that year on, sir, I was very resentful toward the United States for their foreign policy, sir, in the Middle East; for their one-sided support, sir, for Israel against the Arab people.

Q. So you are telling us that never in your whole lifetime up to now that you had any hate for the United States Government or its policies?

A. No, sir, because government in school, sir, was my favorite subject. I had A's in some of those classes. I loved the United States Government, the elections, checks and balances, Congress.

Q. Yet you don't deny that at some point in your career you felt very strongly about the overthrow of the United States Government?

A. As I said, at that time, sir.

Q. At the time you wrote the material down?

A. Yes, sir, when I wrote it down and only at that time, sir. I don't remember entertaining it after or before. I don't even remember that itself right then.

Q. But at some point in your life, no matter how brief, you admit that you had this intense hatred for the United States.

A. Yes, sir, I have fleeting feelings towards anything—

Q. I didn't hear the answer.

A. My feelings toward everything changes according to how the things themselves react to me.

Q. Well, let me ask you this. Think back over it now and try to reconstruct what single thing was done by the United States that first caused you to resent them or hate them?

A. Not necessarily to resent them or hate them, sir, as much as to realize that—the dirty politics, sir, of the United States during election times, Presidential election times.

When Harry Truman came out, sir, and said—

MR. COOPER: Pardon me just a minute. I can't hear.

If your Honor please, may I suggest that that be tightened so that his microphone could be up higher? I think everyone could hear.

(Microphone is adjusted.)

THE COURT: All right, you may go ahead now.

THE WITNESS: When Harry Truman, sir, in 1948 when he wanted to beat Dewey, you know, the Republican Presidential candidate—the candidate for the Republican party for President in 1948—when Harry Truman came out and said, sir, "Do the Arabs have any votes in the American Presidential elections?" Implying, sir, that only the Jews and the Zionists can vote for him, can contribute money to his campaign fund, and that he is only responsible for them in America, and not for the Arabs, and therefore he would want to comply or to do or complete the wishes of the Zionists in America, sir, in the Middle East, provided that these Jews in America would vote for him.

Q. That made you mad when Truman said that?

A. Yes, sir, it did. I don't remember him saying it, sir, but history tells me he did.

Q. You were about four years old at the time, right?

A. Yes, sir, I was.

Q. So this is something you remembered later on, right?

A. Right. Yes, sir, it is.

Q. But at some point in your life something happened that you were aware of that made you consider that the Government of the United States ought to be overthrown?

A. Yes, sir. Whenever it is, sir—I don't remember the exact provocation or the exact point that made me feel that way; I don't remember it. If I had a feeling to remember it, sir, I'd love to explain it.

Q. Did President Johnson do something—

A. Again, sir, as I explained when Mr. Cooper asked me—

Q. Just a minute. Try to listen to my question. Did Presi-

dent Johnson do something that upset you in connection with the Middle East? You can answer that yes or no.

A. He did. He did, yes, sir. May I explain that, sir?

For more information about Sirhan's background, see:

Dr. M. T. MEHDI,

KENNEDY AND SIRHAN . . . WHY?

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